

STATEMENT OF THE DIRECTOR
UNITED STATES ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY
BEFORE THE HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
IN EXECUTIVE SESSION
September 18, 1963

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear before you again.

I realize that the prime purpose of this hearing is to enable the Committee members to ask questions. However, with your permission, I would like to read a statement that may clarify some points about which you are concerned.

When I appeared before you on August 29, I spoke in detail of the importance of adequate funding for our research program. Some of you expressed concern about overlapping or duplication of research. It was also suggested that some of our research projects should be conducted by other agencies.

Two years ago this Committee held hearings on the Arms Control and Disarmament Bill. Many government officials testified concerning the need for a coordinated research effort in this field. The creation of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency resulted. One of the four primary functions assigned the Agency was "the conduct, support, and coordination of research for arms control and disarmament policy formulation."

State Dept. review completed

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Section 35 of the Act authorized the President to establish procedures for coordinating the Government's total effort in the field of arms control and disarmament. The President established such procedures in Executive Order 11044. The Executive Order was coordinated by the Bureau of the Budget with the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and other interested agencies. One of the main objectives was to avoid overlap and duplication in research.

To assist in carrying out the responsibility for coordinating government research in this field, an ACDA Research Council was established promptly after the Executive Order was issued. This Council is composed of the principal Bureau and Office Heads of the Agency. It advises me on three categories of arms control and disarmament research:

- (1) Studies undertaken by ACDA staff;
- (2) ACDA contract research studies; and
- (3) Staff and contract studies of all other agencies.

My directive to the Research Council stressed the importance of preventing overlapping or duplicating research within ACDA and between ACDA and other agencies.

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The affected agencies designated in the Executive Order include the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. These agencies submit to ACDA semi-annual reports covering all current or contemplated research projects in the field of arms control and disarmament. On the basis of the reports, the Research Council prepares an evaluation of all Government research in the field. I submit these reports to the Bureau of the Budget. This semi-annual review focuses our attention regularly on the over-all Government effort and puts us constantly on watch for duplication.

As a further means of preventing duplication in research, we require Agency officers responsible for individual research projects to coordinate the substantive scope of each planned contract or grant with other appropriate agencies. They do this before we request contract proposals for the study. Thus, there is assurance against duplication of effort as well as an opportunity to improve the subject matter of the study through consultation with others.

On the basis of the information we obtain through these coordinating mechanisms, we do research that has not been done and that we believe needs doing. Our effort to avoid duplication and unnecessary overlapping is, I might add, considerably more than was done prior to the creation of the Agency.

Despite the fact that the Agency uses the research capabilities and facilities of other Government agencies to the fullest extent possible, there are large areas of study where work sponsored by ACDA is necessary and appropriate.

As Commissioner Haworth of the AEC told you in 1961:

"The bill before you endows the proposed Agency with extensive authority to sponsor research in its own and other facilities under a variety of conditions. This authority is necessary. As you know, Mr. Chairman, existing Government agencies have carried out programs of research in the field of disarmament . . . At the same time we feel that not enough has been done"

* * *

"The new agency, as the organization primarily responsible for disarmament, should have authority to carry on research quite independently of other agencies. This will preserve its independence in cases where a completely separate evaluation should be made, and will make it possible to proceed where available assistance from other

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agencies may not be adequate. Even more importantly, the agency's own research will provide the core around which the program can be integrated."

Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric also asserted the importance of the new agency doing independent research:

"There should be an arm of Government to exhaust the possibilities of such measures and to explore their implications with respect to our military capabilities, our economy, and our collective defense alliances. Hence, the need for a separate Agency to focus solely on disarmament and arms control, an agency which will have no other responsibilities to divert it from these vital concerns."

* * *

"The establishment and operation of such an Agency, under the direction of the President and the Secretary of State . . . should in no way impair the responsibilities of the Secretary of Defense."

If the Government's program in this field is to constitute a cohesive whole, the research work of other Government agencies must be supplemented. And, in a context of dollar amounts, the \$11 million which we have requested for fiscal year 1964 research is certainly supplemental in nature. By comparison, the Department of Defense has spent over \$168 million on Project VELA alone.

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A little reflection on the character of the arms control problem will illustrate why independent research by ACDA is required to fill out our knowledge.

It was suggested during the hearings several weeks ago that there is a great similarity between the problem of intelligence gathering, or military reconnaissance, and the problem of arms control inspection. While this is true in part, it is also true that there are many significant differences.

Intelligence gathering is accomplished primarily by covert means. Arms control inspection, conducted pursuant to negotiated agreements, would not be similarly inhibited.

This means that there are important differences in the types of sensing equipment utilized and in the potential of aerial and other reconnaissance systems.

Thus, under mutually agreed inspection procedures, there is the possibility of having overt observers on the ground in the territory to be inspected. Such observers could be equipped with sensing and recording devices impossible to use in clandestine intelligence operations.

Arms control agreements may even provide for locating inspectors within military production facilities. This

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type of observation has no counterpart in intelligence operations.

Studies of these types of inspection are not ordinarily pursued under other Government research programs. Such studies encompass a large range of research necessary to fill gaps in our over-all knowledge.

We have similar requirements for research in areas other than inspection. For example, we must understand fully possible changes in the military environment which would result from formally negotiated arms control agreements, and we must explore thoroughly the economic implications of arms control and disarmament measures.

I want to emphasize this need for understanding the problem of economic adjustment to steps toward arms control. The problem sometimes is posed as one without solution. This overlooks the fact that the United States grew to affluence with a very limited defense budget. We have successfully mobilized for war and converted back to peace several times in the past several decades. We are neither dependent upon defense spending for our prosperity nor incapable of reorienting our production base while continuing

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our economic growth.

This is not to suggest that a reduction in defense spending will not create problems. But research and planning can prepare the way and can help to solve these problems. Studies in this area are an important part of our projected program. Again, we plan to conduct this program in cooperation, and after coordination, with other relevant agencies, including, in this area, State and local governmental entities. Certainly we plan to look to state and local authorities, as well as to industry and labor, to obtain accurate information on the probable economic implications of arms control.

I see no useful purpose in delaying investigation and preparation for economic impact until disarmament prospects appear more immediately promising. The sooner we do our homework in this area, the better prepared we will be to cope with such readjustments as may be necessary.

In addition to our extensive effort to coordinate research work by all Government agencies in the field of arms control, we make every possible attempt to utilize existing capabilities. Where studies, capabilities or

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facilities of relevance are available, we use them. If a small addition to an existing DOD contract will provide us with necessary information, the Agency endeavors to use DOD as the contracting agent. For example, ACDA has made arrangements with the DOD to use the computation facility of the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group in the Pentagon. This arrangement allows ACDA to benefit from the extensive DOD investment in a facility designed to analyze different military force postures.

There are also cases where a project is of mutual interest and where joint sponsorship is desirable. In such instances, we may use the other agency as the contracting agent.

Probably the most important example of such an arrangement is our inspection field test program, Project CLOUD GAP. This is a joint ACDA-DOD effort concerned primarily with the test and evaluation of inspection procedures. It involves some considerations that are not encountered in ordinary military intelligence operations. To assure that the CLOUD GAP Project makes full use of all existing knowledge, however, a Steering Committee, composed

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of senior representatives of ACDA, DOD, CIA and AEC, has been established. This Committee reviews the CLOUD GAP program and makes its recommendations before any major element of the program receives final approval by ACDA and DOD.

Most of the CLOUD GAP inspection equipment and personnel, as well as the equipment to be inspected and monitored, will be supplied by the DOD. The planning of the program, however, is a joint effort and ACDA has primary responsibility for analysis and evaluation. The detailed planning and support contracting for the program will be handled by DOD, using both DOD funds and funds supplied by ACDA. Our projected share for fiscal year 1964 is a little less than half and amounts to approximately \$2.4 million.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that Congress has given ACDA over-all responsibility for research in this field. If necessary research projects have not been programmed by other agencies, it is our responsibility to pursue them. This is our job, and, to the best of our abilities, we perform it without duplication and without infringing upon the functions of other agencies.

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As former President Eisenhower said in a letter which Mr. McCloy inserted in the record of your hearings:

"As we know, negotiation for disarmament is one of the functions of diplomacy, the traditional responsibility of the State Department under the President. But we also know that in today's world, the many included problems in the general one of disarmament are so technical and complex that there is required a special group of statesmen, scientists, international lawyers, and the like, in order to serve effectively the Secretary of State, the President and the country in this important field."

With the help of Congress, this is what we are trying to do.